

## WELFARE REFORM

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise to continue the discussion that was begun several minutes ago by my freshman colleagues on the status of welfare in this country today.

Mr. President, since the Government launched the war on poverty in 1963, more than \$5 trillion have been invested in the fight. Yet, clearly, poverty is still winning.

Individual dependence upon the State has increased with every Government intervention. Not only are there more people living in poverty today than ever before but, thanks to welfare, whole generations of Americans have lived and died without ever owning a home, holding down a steady job, or knowing the love and support of both a mother and a father.

In the world of welfare, benefits replace work, checks replace fathers, and the Government is the family of first resort.

Illegitimacy has been subsidized on a grand scale, and like other federally subsidized program, it has grown beyond our wildest imaginings, with the number of children now born out of wedlock now topping 30 percent.

Mr. President, the only thing great about the Great Society is its great size, its great cost, and the great power it holds over the lives of people, who are not only bound to poverty but left without hope.

In my home State of Tennessee, I can testify to the fact that the current welfare system has failed Tennesseans.

In Shelby County where Memphis is located, one out of every four families receives a monthly check from the Federal Government. With taxpayer-subsidized teen pregnancy, and dead-beat dads refusing to accept responsibility for their children, most of those newly entrapped children will have little chance of escaping a lifetime of poverty.

Yet, we continue to measure the depth of our compassion by the number of people who are dependent upon a Government Check.

Mr. President, it is time we started measuring compassion by the number of people who are independent, who have hope, and who experience the dignity of work.

It is time we stopped subsidizing illegitimacy and the kind of self-destructive behavior it spawns, and instead encourage responsibility.

It is time we faced up to the fact that the so-called war on poverty is in fact a war on people.

Mr. President, as a physician, I know how crucial it is to match the treatment to the sickness. The wrong medicine can kill, even when prescribed with good intentions.

By continuing to subsidize a system that penalizes people for working, for being responsible for their families, we only ensure that the war on people will continue.

The time has come to look to individuals and to State and local govern-

ments, who work closely with ailing communities and who know better than we, what medicine to prescribe, and how to begin the true healing of the conditions of poverty.

Mr. President, I recently met with a group of law enforcement professionals, from throughout the State of Tennessee, who came to advise me on practical, concrete ways to turn communities around.

These men and women, whose cumulative experience in law enforcement exceeds 500 years, are frustrated by Federal programs that provide welfare benefits to convicted felons. They are frustrated by Federal rule of evidence that hamstringing their efforts to stop the flow of drugs and the violence that results.

They believe parents should be held accountable for the actions of their children, and they want the authority and the resources to take back our public spaces and make them safe for all Americans.

Mr. President, I call upon the American people to listen to their hearts and to hold fast to their vision. Despite the din of rhetoric in support of the status quo, the American people know that they elected us to do the very thing we are now trying to do.

They asked us to return control of their lives and their Government to local communities.

They asked us to spend their money wisely. They asked us to change incentives, and create a welfare system that promotes work, that strengthens families and that provides an opportunity for all Americans to succeed.

They asked us to do these things because they are compassionate, and we know they are holding us, and our proposals, to a high standard of compassion.

But compassion means that we create a genuine safety net for those who, because of circumstances beyond their control, are truly in need.

Mr. President, the original intent and design of the welfare system was to provide a temporary means of support for those struggling between jobs, or facing insurmountable difficulties. Yet, today's welfare families remain on the rolls for an average of 13 years, counting repeat spells.

Obviously, somewhere along the way, we have lost sight of the purpose of welfare.

For the sake of the children, we must restructure the system. And the first step is to require that those who can, go to work and become self-reliant.

Mr. President, in my practice as a transplant surgeon in Tennessee, I witnessed the effects of our misguided welfare system every day.

One out of every three of my transplant patients was below the poverty level. Some tried—and they tried hard—but could not get a job. Some did not want to work. But almost all felt trapped by the current welfare system which pulls families apart.

Caring for these individuals, I heard the same stories, again and again.

Young teenage single mothers would explain that the Government would pay them \$50 more a month if they moved out of their parents' home, away from their family—and away from the only support system they had to pull themselves out of the welfare trap.

Mr. President, the current welfare system slams shut the window of opportunity. Children trapped in the vicious welfare cycle need answers, and they need them now.

By consolidating programs, we can reduce the costs of bureaucracy and get the money to our children. By giving States the flexibility they need to address their unique problems, we empower them to address the specific needs of our children. By empowering people and communities, we strike a blow at the root of violence and crime and give the streets back to our children. Finally, by creating incentives that promote responsible parenting and individual achievement, we give children hope.

Mr. President, there is a bright side to our current fiscal situation. We have been forced to reevaluate a faulty system.

We have been given the opportunity to regroup, to restructure, and to find new ways of helping those in need.

Those of us who are committed to change have behind us the full force of the American people. Those who argue against these changes have nothing on their side but the dismal history of the past 30 years.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair, and yield the floor.

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

## FAMILY PLANNING

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to call attention to the numerous legislative efforts which are now pending which challenge the constitutional right of a woman to choose. And I have decided to do so in light of the action by the House Appropriations Committee last week in eliminating funding for family planning. It had always been my view that whatever political persuasion or position of political spectrum, that the issue of family planning was one where most Americans, if not virtually all Americans, could agree.

When we talk about welfare reform—and there is no doubt about the necessity for welfare reform in America—we are dealing with many children who come into this world where the parents, many married couples, are not equipped to handle them at that stage of their lives both financially and emotionally. And the welfare payments are enormous when we talk about teenage pregnancy, which may be the greatest domestic social problem America faces today, or certainly one of the biggest. Society spends an estimated \$34 billion on behalf of families in which the first

birth occurred when the mother was a teenager.

When we look at the problem of low-birthweight babies, which constitutes a human tragedy when children are born the size of my hand, weighing as little as 12 ounces, they are human tragedies because they carry scars for a lifetime. Frequently those lifetimes are not very long, but are very expensive to society, costing in the range of \$200,000 a child and thousands more each year. It cost society multiple billions of dollars, whereas family planning saves additional costs in medical care. I think this should be agreed upon by everyone.

A few weeks ago, we had a contentious debate in this Chamber about Dr. Henry Foster, and although some may disagree, my view was that Dr. Foster was rejected because he had performed abortions, a medical procedure permitted under the Constitution of the United States.

We now find the legislation offered by the House moving along the track which would deny Federal funding for a woman in a Federal prison who is a victim of rape. What is that woman to do if the Federal Government, which has her incarcerated and is in charge of her sustenance, prohibits funding for a child which is born to her while she is in prison?

What I decided to do, Mr. President, in order to dramatize this situation, which I think is fairly characterized as a wholesale assault on a woman's right to choose—it is not what I decided to do, as the distinguished Presiding Officer knows, but what my staff decided to do. They brought me the idea.

The line which I have submitted here on the situation where there is the dismantling of a woman's right to choose from A to Z is that there is a nationwide campaign under way to dismantle a woman's right to choose. Antichoice forces, frustrated by their failed attempts to achieve a constitutional amendment to ban choice, are urging Congress to impose burdensome obstacles to reproductive health services for women. These changes are far-reaching and will have a devastating impact on women's health.

To show the scope of this effort, my staff and I have compiled the list of actions from A to Z by antichoice forces. This I suggest is a prescription for gridlock.

There is nothing in the Contract With America on abortion. The results of the 1994 election, I submit, were to deal with the key Republican core values of reducing the size of Government, of limiting expenses, of reducing taxes, and not to be engaged in divisive social issues.

In these charts, in a dramatic way, we have listed these issues from A to Z starting with:

A. Amend the Constitution to abolish a woman's right to choose.

B. Banning Federal funding for abortions for women in Federal prisons.

C. Cutting off title X family planning funds to organizations providing abortions with non-Federal dollars.

D. To deny Federal funding for United States representatives to attend the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women.

E. Eliminate United States funding for international family planning assistance provided by the United Nations Population Fund.

F. Forbid the Legal Services Corporation from handling abortion-related legislation.

G. Gag medical providers at title X family planning clinics to prevent them from discussing abortions as a legal medical option for women facing an unintended pregnancy.

H. Hand over to the States the decision as to whether low-income rape or incest victims are eligible for Medicaid-funded abortions.

I. Impose restrictions on human embryo research.

J. Jeopardize the protections afforded by the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act.

K. Kill nominations of pro-choice Government officials, like Dr. Foster.

L. Limiting the sale and production of RU-486.

M. Mandate that Federal employees insurance exclude abortion coverage, even where the employees pay for it for themselves.

N. Notify parents if minors seek "sensitive" health services such as contraception at title X family planning clinics.

O. Overrule the decision of a graduate medical education accrediting organization to require most OB/GYN residents to be trained in abortion procedures.

P. Promote the appointment of Federal judges opposed to choice.

On that, Mr. President, I have long opposed a litmus test and have supported Justice Scalia, Chief Justice Rehnquist, and Justice O'Connor where their views differ from mine.

Q. Quash the ability of the District of Columbia to use its own revenue to fund abortions for poor women—a right of every other jurisdiction in the United States.

R. Restrict fetal tissue research, an issue which passed overwhelmingly in the Senate when some 80 Senators joined together where it was shown at the hearings that the research was very important for many very serious illnesses.

S. Slashing the funding for domestic and international family planning programs.

T. Terminating funding for family planning programs that either provide abortions with non-U.S. funds or advocate a position on abortion.

U. Undermining the ability of military women stationed overseas to access abortion services by prohibiting military hospitals from performing the procedure, even if paid for with private funds.

V. Violating the right of a doctor and patient to determine whether a certain late-term abortion procedure is appropriate and necessary.

W. Whitewash the true political agenda—eliminating access to abortion for all American women.

X. X-out title X, the cornerstone of Federal family planning programs.

Y. Yielding to the antichoice agenda that rolls back the reproductive rights of American women under the Constitution.

Z. Zeroing out the tax deduction for expenses incurred for pregnancy termination.

Mr. President, I have sought to dramatize the many measures which are underway at the present time. I personally am very much opposed to abortion, but I do not think it is a matter for the Federal Government to regulate. I have supported abstinence pro-

grams, especially for teenagers, that emphasize avoiding premarital sex and have supported tax breaks for adoption because I think that is the proper course. But I do not think it is the business of the Government to regulate abortions. I think that our colleague, Senator Barry Goldwater, articulated it correctly when he said we ought to keep the Government off our backs—less regulation—out of our pocket-books—lower taxes—and out of our bedrooms—the constitutional right of the woman to choose.

The conservative point of view is that the least government is the best government, and I would say that the constitutional protection of a woman on her right to choose ought to be maintained.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a card listing from A to Z these restrictions be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DISMANTLING A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ... FROM A TO Z

Amend the Constitution to abolish a woman's right to choose.

Ban federal funding for abortions for women in federal prisons.

Cut off Title X family planning funds to organizations providing abortions with non-federal dollars.

Deny federal funding for United States representatives to attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women.

Eliminate United States funding for international family planning assistance provided by the United Nations Population Fund.

Forbid the Legal Services Corporation from handling abortion-related litigation.

Gag medical providers at Title X family planning clinics to prevent them from discussing abortion as a legal medical option for a woman facing an unintended pregnancy.

Hand over to the states the decision as to whether low-income rape or incest victims are eligible for Medicaid-funded abortions.

Impose restrictions on human embryo research.

Jeopardize the protections afforded by the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act.

Kill nominations of pro-choice government officials.

Limit the sale and production of mifepristone (RU-486).

Mandate that federal employees' insurance exclude abortion coverage.

Notify parents if minors seek "sensitive" health services such as contraception at Title X family planning clinics.

Overrule the decision of a graduate medical education accrediting organization to require most ob/gyn residents to be trained in abortion procedures.

Promote the appointment of federal judges opposed to choice.

Quash the ability of the District of Columbia to use its own revenue to fund abortions for poor women—a right of every other jurisdiction in the United States.

Restrict fetal tissue research.

Slash funding for domestic and international family planning programs.

Terminate funding for international family planning programs that either provide abortions with non-U.S. funds or advocate a position on abortion.

Undermine the ability of military women stationed overseas to access abortion services by prohibiting military hospitals from performing the procedure, even if paid for with private funds.

Violate the right of a doctor and patient to determine whether a certain late-term abortion procedure is appropriate and necessary.

Whitewash the true political agenda—eliminating access to abortion for all American women.

X-out Title X, the cornerstone of Federal family planning programs.

Yield to the anti-choice agenda that rolls back the hard-won reproductive rights of American women.

Zero out the tax deduction for expenses incurred for pregnancy termination.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The period for morning business is extended for leader time.

Mr. DOLE. Leader time was reserved, right?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

#### KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, in June 1950 the Communist North Korean Army invaded the Republic of Korea in an all-out effort to extinguish the light of freedom.

Although America was weary of war, we came to Korea's defense and joined with many other nations to repel this unprovoked assault.

From the start of the war until the Korean armistice was signed in July 1953, almost 1½ million Americans stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight for freedom.

Inchon, the Chosin Reservoir, Old Baldy, Pork Chop Hill—all were the locations of famous battles, and all bore witness to American courage and sacrifice in the face of unspeakable hardship.

And at the war's end, over 54,000 Americans had made the ultimate sacrifice. More than 100,000 were wounded. And over 8,000 were missing in action.

One of those who made the ultimate sacrifice was Ens. Jesse Brown, America's first black naval aviator. And his story bears repeating.

In December 1950, Ensign Brown was a member of Fighting Squadron 32, aboard an aircraft carrier somewhere off Korea. He flew 20 close air-support missions, providing cover for our outnumbered marines at the Chosin Reservoir. The battle was fierce; our men on the ground were in a desperate situation.

On December 4, 1950, Ensign Brown's aircraft was hit while making a strafing run against the enemy. With tre-

mendous skill, he managed to crash land on a rough, boulder-strewn slope. He survived the crash, waving to his friends as they circled overhead.

They knew he was in trouble, however, when he remained in the cockpit when smoke began to billow from the wreckage. Finally, a fellow member of the squadron could stand it no longer. As the others attacked and held off advancing enemy troops, Lt. Thomas Hudner ignored the dangers of the mountain terrain and enemy troops, and made a deliberate wheels-up landing.

He ran to Ensign Brown's plane, now erupting in flames, and found his friend alive, badly injured, and trapped in the cockpit.

Lieutenant Hudner shoveled snow with his hands to keep Jesse from the flames, burning his own hand badly in the process.

Finally, a Marine helicopter arrived. Lieutenant Hudner, joined by a crewman from the helicopter, struggled desperately to get Jesse out.

Unfortunately, Ens. Jesse Brown died on that slope in Korea.

As President Eisenhower said, Jesse Brown and all those who fought in Korea proved "once again that only courage and sacrifice can keep freedom alive upon the Earth."

Unfortunately, as time passed by, the courage of our soldiers and the rightness of our cause seemed to be forgotten, as the Korean war was buried in the back pages of our history books.

This week, however, with the dedication of the Korean War Memorial here in Washington, DC—in fact, at about 3 o'clock today—Americans join together to pay a long-overdue tribute to the men and women who sacrificed in this so-called forgotten war.

As inscribed at the site, the Korean War Memorial honors the "sons and daughters who answered the call to defend a country they never knew and a people they never met."

The haunting images of 2,400 soldiers and the rugged figures of a combat patrol remind us of the Americans and of their allies from 21 other nations who responded when freedom was threatened.

The lessons of the Korean war are clear: There are no quick and easy fixes to preserve freedom. And there is no substitute for American leadership.

Mr. President, it is with great pride that we honor the sacrifice and the legacy of our Korean war veterans. Let us proudly remember their sacrifice and build on the legacy they earned.

#### EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 2:15 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak for not more than 5 minutes each, unless they get consent, of course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, we are still waiting. We have people negotiating on the so-called gift ban. We hope to have some report by then. We would like to complete action on that today. I hope we can complete action on that today.

Mr. KYL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

#### KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, since I will be taking the chair in 5 minutes, I will confine my remarks. Let me begin by complimenting the majority leader with his very fine remarks just delivered with respect to the Korean War Memorial. He spoke eloquently, and I think his remarks really typify what all of us remember and feel now about that war and the people who represented our country in that conflict. I want to compliment the majority leader on what he has just said.

#### GIFT BAN

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I would like to make a few remarks about the gift ban, which we will be going to shortly, because there will not be adequate time to describe our feelings with respect to this and, therefore, I thought I would take a moment right now.

It seems to me we need to act, we need to act fairly quickly in order to improve the law that deals with the kind of gifts that Members of the Senate can receive.

There are three particular reasons why we need to do this. In the first place, undue influence is a factor. While I cannot think of a situation in which a Senator's vote has been bought by a lobbyist, the fact of the matter is that taking gifts creates undue influence. It needs to stop. I think reforms in this area will stop it.

Second, there is a perception in the public that the Senate takes a lot of gifts. While it is not necessarily true, the fact any gifts are received helps to contribute to that perception. We need to deal with that perception problem and not taking gifts, or at least any kind of significant gifts, will help deal with that.

And third, taking things because of our position becomes a way of life for some Members. In some cases, there is absolutely nothing wrong with it. A very elderly Indian woman who had been standing at a meeting for over 1 hour out in very cold temperatures in northern Arizona one day when I was finished, and when I began to walk away, slipped a ring, a turquoise ring into my hand and then quickly melted away into the crowd. I understood the significance of that, and I will never forget that as an expression on her part of appreciation of what I was attempting to do and nothing more than that.

So some gifts can be very touching, and they are as important to the giver as they are to the receiver.